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A Narrative of the Indian and other wars in Virginia in the years 1675 and 1676. Boston, 1814.

1835 (1814)





Class F 229

Book N 21









A NARRATIVE

OF THE

INDIAN AND CIVIL WARS

IN

VIRGINIA,

IN THE YEARS 1675 AND 1676.

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PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE FIRST  
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1814.

WASHINGTON

1835

PLATE I

PLATE I

PLATE I



P. FORCE, Washington, 1835.



LETTER FROM THE HON. WILLIAM A. BURWELL, MEMBER OF  
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, TO THE HON. JO-  
SIAH QUINCY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF  
MASSACHUSETTS.

WASHINGTON, *December 20th*, 1812.

DEAR SIR, The Manuscript copy of Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion was found among the papers of the late Capt. Nathaniel Burwell, of King William County.—I have not been able to obtain many particulars from his family relative to it.

At the close of the war he heard of its existence in an old and respectable family of the Northern Neck of Virginia, and procured it for his amusement; he entertained no doubt of its antiquity, and valued it on that account.

From the appearance of the work, the minute and circumstantial detail of facts, the orthography, and the style, I am perfectly satisfied his opinion was correct.—I hope it will be found worthy of a place in the valuable collections of the Society to which you belong.

Permit me to offer my best wishes for the success of your labours. Yours, respectfully,

WILLIAM A. BURWELL,  
*Of Virginia.*



## *The Indians Proseedings.* \*

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\* \* \* \* \*  
for their owne security. They found that their store was too short to indure a long seige, without making emty bellies and that emty bellies makes weake hearts, which alway makes an unfit serving man to wait upon the God of War. Therefore they were resolve, before that their spirits were downe, to do what they could to keepe their stores up, as oppertunitie should befriend them: and although they were by the law of armes (as the case now stood) prohibited the hunting of wilde deare, they resolved to see what good might be don by hunting tame horsses: which trade became their sport soe long, that those who came on horseback to the seige began to feare they should be compelled to trot hom on foot, and glad if they scap'd so too, for these beleagured blades made so many salleys, and the beseigers kep such neglegent gards, that there was very few days past without som remarkeable mischiefe. But what can hold out allways? even stone walls yields to the not-to-be gaine saide summons of time. And although it is saide that the Indians doth the least minde their bellies (as being content with a little) of any people in the world, yet now their bellies began to minde them, and their stomachs too, which began to be more inclinable to peace than war; which was the cause (no more horse-flesh being to be had) that they sent out 6 of their Wærowances (chief men) to commence a treaty. What the artickles were that they brought along with them to treat of I doe not know, but certainly they were so unacceptable to the English, that they caused the Commissioners braines to be knock'd out for dictating so badly to

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\* We regret that the beginning of this Manuscript is missing, and that several parts were so much torn that it became necessary to leave vacant spaces. Where the expression is uncertain, but the page not wholly disfigured, we have used *italick letters*.  
ED.

their tongues, which yet, tis possible, exprest more reason, than the English had to prove the lawfulness of this action, being diametrecall to the law of arms.

This strange action put those in the Fort to their trumps, having thus lost som of their prime court cards, without a faire dealing. They could not tell what interpretation to put upon it (nay, indeed, nobody else) and very faine they would *understand* why those, whom they sent out with a *view to supplicate* a peace should be worse dealt with than those who were sent out with a sword to denounce a war; but *no one* could be got to make inquirie into the reason of this \* \* which put them upon a resolution to forsake their *station*, and not to expostulate the cause any further. Having *made* this resolution, and destroyed all things in the Fort, that might be servisable to the English, they boldly, undiscovered slip through the league (leaving the English to prosecute the seige as Schogin's wife brooded the eggs that the fox had suck'd) in the passing of which they knock'd ten men on the head, who lay carelessly asleep in their way.

Now although it might be saide that the Indians went their ways emty handed, in regard they had left all their plunder and wealth behind them in the Fort, yet it cannot be thought that they went away emty hearted: for though that was pritty well drained from its former curage through those inconveniences that they had bin subjected to by the seige, yet in the room thereof, rather than the venticles should lie voide, they had stowed up so much mallize, entermixt with a resollution of revenge, for the affront that the English had put upon them, in killing their mes-singers of peace, that they resolved to commence a most barbarous and most bloody war.

The beseigers having spent a grate deale of ill employed time in pecking at the huske, and now finding the shell open, and missing the expected prey, did not a little woonder what was becom of the lately impounded Indians, who, though at present, they could not be seene, yet it was not long before they were heard off, and felt too: for in a very short time they had, in a most inhumane manner, murdered no less than 60 innocent people, no ways guilty of any actual injury don to these ill-discerning, brutish heathen. By the blood of these poore soules, they thought that the wandering ghosts of those their Commissioners before mentioned, might be atton'd and lade down to take their repose in the dismall shades of death, and they, at present, not obliged for to prosecute any farther revenge. Therefore to prove whether the English was as redy for a peace as themselves, they send their remonstrance in the name of their *Chief*, taken

by an English interpreter, unto the Governour of Virginia, with whom he expostulates in this sort. What *was it* that moved him to take up arms against him his *professed* friend in the behalfe of the Marylanders his professed enemies contrary to that league made betweene him and himselfe? declares as well his owne as subjects grieffe to finde the Verginians, of friends, without any cause given to becom his foes, and to be so eager in their groundless quarrell, as to persew the chase in to anothers dominions: complains that his messingers of peace were not onely murdered by the English, but the fact countenanced by the Governour's connivance: for which, seeing no other ways to be satisfied, he had revenged himselfe by killing 10 for one of the Verginians, such being the disperportion between his grate men murdered, and those by his comand slane; that now this being done, if that his honour would allow him a valluable satisfaction for the damage he had sustained by the war, and no more concerne himselfe in the Marylanders quarill, he was content to renew and confirme the ancient league of amity, otherways himselfe, and those whom he had ingaged to his intress (and their owne) were resolved to fite it out to the last man.

These proposals not being assented to by the English, as being derogatory and point blank both to honour and intress, these Indians draw in others (formerly in subjection to the Verginians) to their aides: which being conjoyned (in separate and united parties) they dayly committed abundance of unguarded and unrevengeed murthers upon the English, which they perpetrated in a most barbarous and horrid manner. By which means abundance of the Fronteare Plantations became eather depopulated by the Indian settlers, or deserted by the planters feares, who were compelled to forsake their abodes to find security for their lives; which they were not to part with in the hands of the Indians, but under the worst of torments. For these brutish and inhuman brutes, lest their cruelties might not be thought cruell enough, they devised a hundred ways to torter and torment those poore soules with, whose reched fate it was to fall into their unmerciful hands. For some before they would deprive them of their lives they would take a great deal of time to deprive them first of their skins, and if their life had not, through the anguish of their paine, forsaken their tormented bodies, they *with their clubs knock out their teeth* (or som instrument) tear off the nails of *their hands* and their toes, which put the poor sufferer to a woful condition. One was *prepared for the flames at James' town*, who indured much, but found means to escape \* \* \*

Cruelties of the  
Indians.

\* \* \* \* \* for least that their deaths should be attributed to some more merciful hands than theirs, to put all out of question, they would leave som of those brutish markes upon their fenceless bodies, that they might testify it could be none but they who had committed the fact.

And now it was that the poor distressed and doubly afflicted Planters began to curse and execrate that ill maniged business at the fort. Their cries were reiterated again and again, both to God and to man for releife. But no appearance of long wished for safety arising in the horizon of their hopes, they were redy, could they have tould which way to leave all and forsake the Collony; rather than to stay, and be exposed to the cruelties of the barberous heathen.

At last it was concluded, as a good expedient for to put the countrie in a good degree of safety, for to plant forts upon the Fronteirs, thinking thereby to put a stop to the Indians excursions, which after the expence of a grate deale of time and charge, being finished, com short of the designed ends. For the Indians quickly found out where the mouse traps were sett, and for what purpose, and so resolved to keep out of the way of their danger; which they might easy enough do without any detriment to their designes. For tho' hereby they were compelled to go (tis possible) a little about, yet they never thought much of their labour, so long as they were not debarred from doing mischief; which was not in the power of these forts to prevent. For if that the English did at any time know that there was more ways into the wood than one to kill Deare, the Indians found more, a thousand out of the wood, to kill men, and not com neare the danger of the forts neather.

Forts to be built.

Not valued by the Indians.

The small good that was by most expected, and now by them experienced from those useless fabricks (or castells, *if so we say*) excited a marvellous discontent among the people. *Some thought the charge would be great*, and the benefit little \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* It rent the hearts of many that they should be compelled to work all day, nay all the year, for to reward those mole catchers at the fort, (nobody knew for what,) and at night could not find a place of safety to lie downe in, to rest their wery bones, for feare they should be shattered all to pieces by the Indians; upon which consideration they thought it best to petition the downefall of these useless (and like to be) chargeable fabricks, from whose continuance they could neither expect profit nor safety.

But for the effecting this business they found themselves under a very grate disadvantage, for tho' it may be more easier to cast downe than irect well cemented structures, yet the rule doth not hould good in all cases. For it is to be understood that these forts were contrived, eather by the sole command of the Governour, or otherways by the advise of those whose judgments, in these affairs, he approved off; eather of which was now, they being don, his own emmediate act, as they were don in his name, which to have undone at the simple request of the people, had bin in effect, to have undon the Repute he always held in the peoples judgment for a wise man; and better that they should suffer some small inconveniences, than that he should be accounted less discerning than those, who till now were counted more than halfe blinde. Besides how should he satisfie his honour of the undertakers of the work. If the peoples petition be granted, they must be disappointed, which would be little less than an undoing to them allsoe, in their expectation of profit to be raised from the work. Hereby the people quickly found themselves in an error; when that they apprehended what a strong foundation the Forts were irected upon, honour and profit against which all their saping and mining had no power to overturne. They having no other ingredience to making up their fire works with but prayers and mispent tears and intreties; which having vented to no purpose, and finding their condition every whit as bad, if not worse, as before the forts were made, they resolved to \*

\* \* \* \* \*

The Forts disliked by the English.

Bacon's Proceedings.

The people chose Col. Bacon their Generali, which post he accepted. He was a man of quality and merit, brave and eloquent, became much endeared, not so much for what he had yet done as the cause of their affections, as for what they expected he would doe to deserve their devotion; while with no common zeale they sent up their reiterated prayers, first to himselfe, and next to heaven, that he may become their guardian angel, to protect them from the cruelties of the Indians, against whom this Gent : man had a perfect antipathy.

Bacon appears against the Indians.

It seemes that at the first rise of the war this Gent : man had made some overtures unto the Governour for a commission to go and put a stop to the Indians proseedings. But the Governour at present, eather not willing to commence the quarrill (on his part) till more suiteable reasons presented, for to urge his more severe prosecution of the same, against the heathen: Or that he doubted Bacons temper, as he appeared popularly inclined; A Constitution not consistent with the times, or the peoples dispositions; being generally discontented, for want of timely provisions against the Indians, or for annual impositions laid upon them, too grate (as they saide) for them to beare, and against

Bacon advan-  
ceth against  
the Indians.

which they had som considerable time complained, without the least redress. For these, or som other reasons, the Governour refused to comply with Bacons proposalls. Which he lookeing upon as undervalluing as well to his parts as a disperidgment to his pretentions, he in som elated and passionate expressions, sware Commission or no Commission, the next man or woman he heard off that should be killed by the Indians, he would go out against them, though but twenty men would adventure the servis with him. Now it so unhappily fell out, that the next person that the Indians did kill was one of his owne family. Whereupon having got together about 70 or 90 persons, most good housekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a Commission (after some strugglings with the Governour) *som of his best friends* who condemned his enterprises, he applies himself \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* The Governour could not bear this insolent deportment of Bacon, *and spake freely against him, and condemned his proseedings.* Which \* \* instead of seeking means to appease his anger, they devised meenes to increase it, by framing specious pretences which they grounded upon the bouldness of Bacons actions, and the peoples affections. They began (som of them) to have Bacons merits in mistrust, as a luminary that threatened an eclipse to their rising gloryes. Foo tho' he was but a yong man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those induments which constitutes a compleate man, (as to intrinsecalls) wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse. By which embellishments if he should continue in the Governours favour of seniours they might become juniours, while their yonger brother, thro' the nimbleness of his wit, might steale away that blessing, which they accounted their owne by birthright. This rash proseeding of Bacon, if it did not undoe himselfe, by his failing in the enterprise, might chance to undoe them in the af-



fections of the people; which to prevent they thought it condu-  
cible to their intress and establishment, for to get the Governour  
in the minde to proclaime him a Rebell, as knowing that once  
being don, since it could not be don but in and by the Govern-  
ours name, it must needs breed bad blood betweene Bacon and  
Sir William, not easily to be purged. For though Sir William  
might forgive, what Bacon as yet had acted; yet it might be  
questionable whether Bacon might forget what Sir William had  
don. However, according to their desires, Bacon  
and all his adherents, was proclaimed a Rebell,  
May the 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his  
duty. With which the Governour advanced from  
the middle plantation\* to find him out, and if need was to fight  
him, if the Indians had not knockd him and those that were with  
him in the head, as some were in hope they had don, and which  
by som was earnestly desired.

Forces raised  
to reduce Ba-  
con.

After som days the Governour retracts his march, (a jurnye of  
som 30 or 40 miles) to meet the assemblie now redy to set downe  
at our Metropolis, while Bacon in the meane while  
meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with  
abundance of resollution and gallantrey (as his own  
party relates it) in their fastness; killing a great  
many and blowing up their magazine of armes and powder, to a  
considerable quantity if *we may judge from himself*, no less  
than 4000 wt. This being done, and *all his* provisions spent,  
he returns home, and *while here* submits himselfe to be chosen  
burgess of the County in which he did live, contrary to his  
*qualifications*, take him as he was formerly one of the Councell  
of State, or as hee was now a proclaimed Rebell. However,  
he applyes himselfe to the performance of that trust reposed in  
him by the people, if he might be admitted into the house.  
But this not faying according to his desire, though according to  
his expectation, and he remaining in his sloop, (then at anchor  
before the towne) in which was about 30 gentle  
men besides himselfe, he was there surprised and  
made prisoner, with the rest, som being put into  
irons, in which condition they remained som time, till all things  
were fitted for the tryall. Which being brought to a  
day of heareing, before the Governour and Councell,  
Bacon was not only acquitted and pardoned all  
misdemeanours, but restored to the Councel table  
as before: and not only but promised to have a commission

Bacon meets  
with the In-  
dians.

Bacon taken  
prisoner.

Brought upon  
his tryall and  
acquited.

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\*Williamsburg, See Beverly's history of Virginia.

June 10 promised a Commission. signed the Monday following (this was Saturday) as Generall for the Indian warr, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same; witnessed by the generall acclamations of all then in towne.

And here who can do less than wonder at the mutable and impermanent deportments of that blind Godes fortune, who in the morning leades men with disgraces, and ere night crowns him with honours; sometimes depressing, and again ellevating, as her fickle humer is to smile or frown, of which this Gentlemans fate was a kind of epittemy in the several vicissitudes and changes he was subjected in a very few days. For in the morning, before his tryall, he was in his enemys hopes, and his friends feares, judged for to receive the Gurdean due to a Rebell (and such he was proclaimed to be) and ere night crowned the Darling of the peoples hopes and desires, as the only man fitt in Verginia to put a stop to the bloody resolution of the Heathen. And yet againe, as a fuller manifestation of Fortunes inconstancye, within

The Governour refuses to syne the Commission.

Bacon disgusted

two or three days, the peoples hopes, and his desires, were both frustrated by the Governours refusing to singe the promised commission. At which being disgusted, though he dissembled the same so well as he could, he beggs leave of the Governour to dispense with his servis at the councill table, to visit his *Wife, who, as she had informed him, was indisposed*, which request the Governour (after som contest with his own thoughts) granted, contrary to the advice of som about him, who suspected Bacons designes, and that it was not so much his lady's sickness as the troubles of a distempered mind which caused him to withdraw to his own house, and that this was the truth, which in a few days was manifested, when that he returning to towne with 500 men in arms.

The Governour did not want intelligence of Bacons designes, and therefore sent out his summons for Yorke traine bands to reinforce his gards then at towne. But the time was so short, not above 12 howers warning) and those that appeared at the Rendezvous made such a slender number, that under 4 Ensignes there was not mustered above 100 soulders, and not one half of them sure neather, and all so sluggish in their march, that before they could reach towne, by a grate deale, Bacon had entered the same, and by force obtained a commission, calculated to the hight of his own desires. With which commission, being invested, (such as it was,) he

Bacon returns to town at the head of 500 men, and forceath a Commission.

makes redy his provisions, fills up his companies to the designed number (500 in all) and so applies himself to those services the country expected from him. And, first, for the securing the same against the excursions of the Indians, in his absence (and such might be expected) he commissioned several persons, (such as he could confide in) in every respective county, with select companies of well armed men, to ravage the forests, thickets, swamps, and all such suspected places where Indians might have any shelter for the doing of mischief. Which proceedings of his put so much courage into the planters, that they begun to apply themselves to their accustomed employments in their plantations: which till now they durst not do, for fear of being knock'd in the head, as God knows too many were before these orders were observed.

While the Generall (for so was Bacon now denominated by virtue of his commission) was sedulous in these affaires, and fitting his provisions, about the head of Yorke river, in order to his advance against the Indians; the Governour was steareing quite different courses. He was once more persuaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaim Bacon a Rebell againe. And now since his absence afforded an advantage to raise the country upon him, so soone as he should returne tired and exhausted by his toyle and labour in the Indian war. For the putting this council in execution, the Governour steps over in Gloster county, (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and affection of any County in Verginia,) all which the Governour summons to give him a meeting at a place and day assigned, where being met according to summons the Governours proposals was so much disrelished, by the wholl Convention, that they all disbanded to their owne aboades, after their promise past to stand by and assist the Governour against all those who should go about to rong his person or debase his authority; unto which promise they annexed or subjoined severall reasons why they thought it not convenient at present, convenient to declare themselves against Bacon, as he was now advancing against the common enemy, who had in a most barbarous maner murdered som hundreds of their deare brethren and countrymen, and would, if not prevented by God, and the endeavours of good men, do their utmost for to cut off the wholl Collony.

Therefore did they think that it would be a thing inconsistent with right reason if that they in this desperate conjuncture of time, should go and ingage themselves one against another; from the result of which pro-

The Gloster  
mens protesta-  
tion.

seedings, no thing could be expected but ruine and destruction unto both, to the one and other party, since that it might reasonably be conceived, that while they should be exposing their breasts against one anothers wepons, the barbarous and common enemy (who would make his advantages by our disadvantages) should be upon their backs to knock out their brains. But if it should so hapen (as they did hope would never hapen) that the Generall after the Indian war was finished, should attempt any thing against his Honers person or Government, that they would rise up in arms, with a joint consent, for the preservation of both.

Since the Governour could obtaine no more he was at present to rest himselfe contented with this, while those who had advised him to these undertakings, was not a little dissatisfied to find the event not answer their expectations. But he at present, seeing there was no more to be don, since he wanted a power to have that don, which was esteemed the maine of the affaires, now in hand to be don, namely, the gainging of the Gloster men, to do what he would have done, he thought it best to do what he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclame Bacon a tratour, which was performed in all publick places of meetings in these parts. The noise of which proclameation, after that it had passed the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moved his Honer to do what he had now don, soone reached the Generalls ears not yet stopt up from lisning to apparent dangers.

Bacon pro-  
claimed a  
Tratour.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and som with him, shrodely to their trumps, believing that a few such deales, or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly ring the cards and game too out his hand. He perceved that he was falne (like the corne between the stones) so that if he did not looke the better about him, he might chance to be ground to powder. He knew that to have a certaine enemy in his frunt, and more than uncertaine friends in his reare, portended no grate security from a violent death, and that there could be no grate difference betwene his being wounded to death in his breast with bows and arrows, or in the back with guns and musquet bullets. He did see that there was an absolute necessity of destroying the Indians for the prisarvation of the English, and that there was some care to be taken for his owne and souldiers safety, otherways that worke must be ill don where the laberoures are made criples, and compeld insteade of a sword to betake themselves to a crutch.

It vext him to the hart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tygers and foxes, which dayly destroyed our harmless sheepe and lambs, that hee and those with him should be persued, with a full crye, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himselfe in som degree of safety, since he could not tell but that som whom he left behind, might not more desire his death, than to hear that by him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with som of his soldiers) counter-marches his army, and in a trice *came up with* them at the middle plantation,\* a place situated in the very heart of the country.

The first thing that Bacon fell upon (after that he had settled himself at the middle plantation) was *to prepare his* remonstrance, and that as well against a certain *anonymous* paper of the 29 of May, as in answer to the Governours proclamation. Putting both papers upon *these declarations*, he asks whether parsons wholly devoted to their king and country, haters of all sinister, and by respects, aiming only at their countreys good, and indeavouring to the *utmost of their* power, to the haserd of their lives and fortunes, *that they might* destroy those, that are in armes against their king and *countrey*, men who never plotted, contrived, nor indeavoured *any* indiscretion, detriment or rong of any his Majesties *subjects*, in their lives, names, fortunes, or estates, can deserue the appellation of Rebels and Traters.

He cites the wholl countrey to testifie his and his souldiers peaceable behaviours; upbrades som in authority with the meanness of their parts; others, now welthey, with the meanness of their estates, when they first came into the country; and questions by what just ways or means, they have obtained the same; and whether they have not bin the sponges that have suck'd up and devoured the common tresurye?

Bacon's declaration.

Questions what arts, ciences, schools of learning or manufacteres hath been promoted by any now in authority?— Justifies his aversion (in generall) against the Indians, upbrades the Governour for maintaneing their quarrill (tho' never so unjust) against the Christians rites, and interest; His refusing to admit an Englishman's oath against an Indian, when that an Indians word would be sufficient prooffe against an Englishman. Saith something against the Governour about the Beaver trade, as being a monopoly \* \* \* \* \*

Arraignes one Col. Coles ascertainment *for saying* that the English are bound to protect the Indians at the haserd of their blood;

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\* Williamsburg.

and so concludes with an appeale to King and Parlaiment where he *has no doubt* that his and the peoples cause will be impartially heard.

*After this manner* the game begins. *This declaration* of Bacon was the Praeludum to the following chapter \* \*

His next worke was to invite all that had any regard to themselves, or love to their countrey, their wives, children and other relations to give him a meeting at his quarters, at a day named, then and there to consider how to put the countrey into som degree of safety, and to indeavour for to stop those imminent dangers, now threatening the destruction of the wholl Collony, through the bloody proseedings of the Indians ; and (as he saide) by Sir Williams doteing and irregular actings. Desiring of them not to sit still in this common tyme of callamity, with their hands in their bosoms ; or as unconcern'd spectaters, stand gazing upon their approaching ruine, and not lend a hand to squench those flames, now likely to consume them and theirs to ashes. According to the summons most of the prime Gentlemen of these parts, (whereof some were of the Councell of State) gave Bacon a meeting at his quarters at the assigned time. Where being met (after a long harange by him made, much of the nature of, and to explaine the summons) he desired them to take the same so far into their consideration, that there might, by their wisdom, som expedient be found out, as well for the countreys securitie against Sir Williams irregular proseedings, as that he and armye might unmollest prosecute the Indian war. Ading, that neather himselfe, nor those under his command, thought it a thing consistent with reason or common sense to advance against the common enemy, and in the meane time want insurence (when they don the worke abroad) not to have their throts cut when they should return home, by those who had set them to worke. Being confident that Sir William and som others with him, through a sence of their unwarrantable actions, would do what was possible to be don, not only to destroy himselfe, but others (privie to their knavery) now ingaged in the Indian servis with him.

After that Bacon had urged what he thought meet for the better carrying on of those affaires, now hammering in his head, it was concluded by the wholl Convention, that for the establishing the Generall and armye, in a consistency of safety, and that as well upon his march against the Indians, as when he should return from the servis, and also for the keeping the countrey in peace in his absence, that there should be test a or recognitio drawne, and subscribed by the wholl countrey, which should

oblige them, and every of them, not to be aiding nor assisting Sir William Berkeley (for now he would not afford him the title of Governour) in any sort to the molestation, hindrance or detriment of the Generall and Army. This being assented to, the Clark of the Assembly was ordered to put the same into forme. Which, while he was a doeing, the Generall would needs have another branch added to the former, viz. That the people should not onely be obliged, not to be aiding Sir W. B.

against the Generall, but the force of this recognition should be obliged to rise in arms against him, if

An oath projected.

he with armed forces should offer to resist the Generall, or disturb the countreys peace, in his absence, and not only so, (but to make the engagement A-la-mode Rebellion) he would have it added, that if any forces should be sent out of England, at the request of Sir William, or otherways to his aide, that they were likewise to be opposed till such time as the countreys cause should be sent *home*, and reported to his most sacred Majesty.

These two last branches of this bugbears did marvellously startle the people, especially the very last of all, yet to give the Generall satisfaction how willing they were to give him all the securitye that lay in their power, they seemed willing to subscribe the two first, as they stood single, but not to anye, if the last must be joined with them. But the Generall used or urged a great many reasons for signing the whole ingagement, as it was presented in the three conjoined branches, otherways no securitye could be expected neather to the countrey, armye, nor himselfe. Therefore he was resolved, if that they would not doe, what he did judge so reasonable, and necessary to be don, in and about the premises, that he would surrender up his commission to the assembly, and let the countrey find some other servants to go abrode and do their Worke.

For, says he, it is to be considered that Sir William hath already proclaimed me a Rebell, and it is not unknowne to himselfe that I both can and shall charge him with no less than treason. And

Bacon's reasons for the taking the oath.

it is not onely myself that must and is concerned in what shall be charged against him: But severall gentlemen in the countrey besides; who now are, and ever will be against his intress, and of those that shall adhere to his illegal proceedings, of which he being more than ordnarily sensible, it cannot in common reason be otherways conceived, but that he, being assisted by those forces now employed, that they shall not be wholly employed to the destruction of all those capeable to fram an accusation against him, to his sacred Majesty. Neather can it be reasonably appre-

hended, that he will ever condescend to any friendly accommodation with those that shall subscribe to all, or any part of this ingagement, unless such or such persons shall be surrendered up to his mercy to be proceeded against as he shall see fitt: and then how many, or few, those may be, whom he shall make choice of to be sent into the tother world that he may be rid of his feares in this, may be left to consideration.

Many things was (by many of those who were of this meeting) urged pro and con, concerning the taking or not taking of the ingagement:—But such was the resolute temper of the Generall against all reasoning to the contrary, that the wholl must be swallowed or ells no good would be don. In the urging of which, he used such suttill and specious pretences; som times for the pressing, and not to be dispensed with necessity, in regard of those feares the wholl Collony was subjected to through the daily murthers perpetrated by the Indians, and then againe opening the harmlessness of the Oath, as he would have it to be, and which he manidged solely against a grate many of those counted the wisest men in the countrey, with so much art and sophisticall dexterity that at length there was little saide by any against the same. Especially when the Gunner of York fort arrived, imploring aid to secure the same against the Indians; ading that there was a great number of poore people fled into it for protection, which could not be unless there was som speedy course taken to reinforce the said Fort with Muniton and Arms, otherways it, and those fled to it, would go nere hand to fall into the power of the Heathen.

The Generall was som what startled at this newes, and accordingly expostulated the same, how it could possible be that the most considerablest fortris in the Countrey, should be in danger to be surprisid by the Indians. But being tould that the Governour, the day before, had caused all the Arms and Amuniton to be conveyed out of the Fort into his owne vessell, with which he was saled forth of the countrey, as it was thought, it is strange to think, what impression this Story made upon the peoples apprehentions. In earnest this action did stager a grate many, otherways well inclined to Sir William, who could not tell what constructions to put upon it. However, this was no grate disadvantage to Bacons designes; he knew well enough how to make his advantages out of this, as well as he did out of the Gloster bisness, before mentioned, by frameing and stomping out to the peoples apprehentions what commentaries, or interpretations, he pleased, upon the least oversight by the Governour committed; which hee managed with so much cuning and subtilty, that



the peoples minds became quickly flexible, and apt to receive any impression, or simillitude, that his Arguments should represent to their ill discerning judgments; in so much that the oath became now more smooth, and glib, to be swallowed, even by those who had the greatest repugnancy <sup>The oath taken.</sup> against it; so that there was no more descourses used neather for restrictions, nor enlargements; onely this salvo was granted unto those who would claime the benefit of it (and som did soe) yet not exprest in the written copeny (viz.) That if there was any thing in the same of such dangerous consequence that might tant the subscribers Alegiance, that then they should stand absolved from all and every part of the saide oath; unto which the Generall gave his consent (and certainly he had too much cuning to denye, or gaine say it) saying, God forbid that it should be otherways ment, or intended; adding that himselfe (and Armye by his command) had, som few days before taken the Oath of Alegiance, therefore it could not rationally be imagined that eather himselfe, or them, would goe about to act, or do, any thing contrary to the meaneing of the same.

Bad ware requires a darke store, while sleeke and pounce inveagles the chapmans judgment. Though the first subscribers were indulged the liberty of entering their exceptions, against the strict letter of the oath, yet others who were to take the same before the respective justices of peace in their severall jurisdictions, were not to have the same latitude. For the power of affording cautions, and exceptions, was solely in the imposer, not in those who should hereafter administer the oath, whereby the aftertakers were obliged to swallow the same (though it might haserd their choakeing) as it stood in the very letter thereof. Neather can I apprehend what benefit could possibly accrue more unto those who were indulged, the fore saide previldg than to those who were debar'd the same; since both subscribed the ingagement as it stood in the letter, not as it was in the meaneing of the subscriber. It is trew, before God and their owne consciences, it might be pleadeable, but not at the bar of humane proseedings, without a favourable interpretation put upon it, by those who were to be the judges.

While Bacon was contriveing, and imposeing this illegall oath, for to secure himselfe against the Governour, the Governour was no less sollicitous to finde out meanes to secure himselfe against Bacon. Therefore, as the onely place of security, within the Collony, to keep out of Bacons reach, he sales over to Accomack. This place is sequestered from the mane part of Verginia through the enterposition

Sir W. sails for  
Accomack.

of the grate Bay of Cheispiock, being itselſe an iſthmus, and commonly called the Eaſtern ſhore. It is bounded on the Eaſt with the inaine oacian, and on the South weſt with the aforeſaide Bay, which runs up into the countrey navigable for the bigeſt ſhips more than 240 miles, and ſo conſequentially, not approachable from the other parts of Verginia but by water, without ſurrounding the head of the ſaide Bay: A labour of toyle, time, and danger, in regard of the way, and habitations of the Indians.

It was not long before Bacon was informed where the Governour had taken ſanctuary; neather was he ignorant what it was that moved him to do what he had don: He did alſo apprehend that as he had found the way out, he could (when he ſaw his owne time) find the way in againe; and though he went forth with an emty hand he might return with a full fiſt. For the preventing of which (as he thought) he deſpatch'd away one Eſq. Bland, a Gent: man of an active and ſtiring diſpoſſition, and no grate admirer of Sir Williams goodneſſe; and with him, in Commiſſion, one Capt. Carver, a perſon acquainted with navigation, and one (as they ſay) indebted to Sir W. (before he dyed) for his life, upon a duble account with forces in two ſhips, eather to block Sir William up in Accomack, or otherways to inveagle the inhabitants (thinkeing that all the countrey, like the Friere in the Buſh, muſt needs be ſo mad as to dance to their pipe) to ſurrender him up into their hands.

Bacon having ſent Bland, and the reſt, to doe this ſervis, once more re-enters upon his Indian march; after that he had taken order for the conveneing an Aſſembly, to ſit downe on the 4 of September, the ſummons being authentick'd, as they would have it, under the hands of 4 of the Councell of State; and the reaſon of the Convention to manidge the affaires of the countrey in his abſence; leaſt (as he ſaide) while he went abroad to deſtroy the Wolves, the Foxes, in the meane time, ſhould com and devour the Sheepe. He had not march'd many miles, from his head quarters, but that newes came poſt haſt, that Bland and the reſt with him, were ſnapt at Accomack; betrade as ſom of their owne party related) by Capt. Carver: but thoſe who are beſt able to render an account of this affaire do aver, that there was no other Treason made uſe of but their want of diſcretion, aſſiſted by the juce of the Grape: had it been otherways the Governour would never rewarded the ſervis with the gift of a Halter, which he honoured Carver with, ſuddenly after his ſurpriſeall. Bland was put in Irons,

Bland and Carver ſent to Accomack.

Bacon advanceth againſt the Indians.

Carver taken and hanged.

and ill intreated, as it was saide ; most of the soulders owned the Governours cause, by entering themselves into his servis ; those that refused were made prissoners, and promised a releasement at the price of Carvers fate.

The Governour being blest with this good servis, and the better servis, in that it was effected without blood shed, and being inform'd that Bacon was entred upon his Indian March, ships himselfe for the westerne shore, being assisted with 5 ships and 10 sloops, in which (as it is saide) was about a thousand soulders. The newes where of outstriping his canvass wings soone reached the eares of those left by Bacon, to see the Kings peace kep, by resisting the Kings vice gerent. For before that the Governour could get over the water, two fugitives was got to land, sent (as may be supposed) from som in Accomack, spirited for the Generalls quarill, to inform those here, of the same principles, of the Governours strength, and upon what terms his soulders were to fight. And first they were to be rewarded with those mens estates who had taken Bacons oath, catch that catch could. Secondly that they, and their heirs, for 21 yeares should be discharged from all impossition, excepting Church dues, and lastly, 12 pence per day, dureing the wholl time of servis. And that it was further decreed that all sarvants, whose masters were under the Generalls Colours, or that had subscribed the ingagement, should be set free, and enjoy the fore mention'd benefits, if that they would (in Arms) owne the Governours cause. And that this was the wholl truth, and nothing but the truth, the two men before mentioned, deposed before Capt. Thorp one of the Iustasses of the peace, for York county, after that one Collonel Searsbrooke had more prudently declined the admiting these two scoundrills to the test. Whether these fellows were in the right or in the rong, as to what they had narated, I know not, but this is certaine, whether the same was trew, or false, it produced the effects of truth in peoples mindes ; who hereby became so much distracted in their resolutions, that they could not tell, at present, which way to turn themselves ; while their tongues expressed no other language but what sounded forth feares, wishes, and execrations, as their apprehensions, or affections dictated ; All looking upon themselves as a people utterly undon, being equally exposed to the Governours displeasure, and the Indians bloody cruelties : Som curseing the cause of their approcheing destruction, lookeing upon the oath to be no small ingredient, helping to fill

Sir W. ships  
himself for the  
western shore.

Upon what  
terms the Ac-  
comackians  
were to fight.

The peoples  
perplexed con-  
dition.

up the measure of their miserys : Others wishing the Generalls presence, as the onely rock of safety, while others look'd upon him as the onely quicksands ordained to swallow up, and sinke the ship that should set them on shore, or keep them from drownding in the whirle poole of confuseion.

**Sir W. arrives at towne, Sept. 7.** In the midst of these feares and peturbations, the Governour arrives with his fleet of 5 ships and 10 sloopes, all well man'd (or appear'd to be soe) before the Towne ; into which the Governour sends his summons (it being possest by 7 or 800 Baconians) for a Rendition ; with a free and ample pardon to all that would decline Bacons intrass, and owne his, excepting one Mr. Drummond, and one Mr. Larence, a Collonel, and both active promoters of Bacons designes : Which is a most apparent argument, that what those two men (before mentioned) had sworn to, was a mere pack of untruths. This his Honours Proclamation was acceptable to most in Towne ; while others againe would not trust to it, feareing to meet with som after-claps of revenge : Which diversity of opinions put them all into a ressolution of deserting the place, as not Tenable (but indeed had it bin fortified, yet they had no commission to fight) while they had the liberty of soe doeing, before it should be wholly invested ; which that night, in the dark, they put in execution, every one shifting for himselfe with no ordnary feare, in the gratest hast possible, for feare of being sent after : And that som of them was posses'd with no ordnary feare, may be manifested in Collonell Larence, whose spirits were so much dstracted, at his apprehensions of being one excepted in the Governours act of grace, that he forsooke his owne howse with all his welth and a faire cupboard of plate entire standing, which fell into the Governours hands the next morning.

**The Baconians forsake the towne.** The Towne being thus forsaken, by the Baconians, his Honour enters the same the next day, about noone ; where after he had rendred thanks unto God for his safe arrivall (which he forgot not to perform upon his knees, at his first footeing the shore) hee applyes himselfe not only to secure what hee had got possession of, but to increace and enlarge the same, to his best advantage. And knowing that the people of ould, useally painted the God of war with a belly to be fed, as well as with hands to fight, he began to cast about for the bringing in of provissions, for to feed his soulders ; and in the next place for soulders, as well to reinforce his strength within, as to enlarge his quarters abrode : But as the saying is, Man may propose, but God will dispose ; when

that his Honour thought himselfe so much at liberty, that he might have the liberty to go when and where he pleased, his expectations became very speedily and in a moment frustrated.

For Bacon haveing don his business against the Indians, or at least so much as he was able to do, haveing marched his men with a grate deale of toyle and haserd som hundreds of miles, one way and another, killing som and taking others prissoners, and having spent his provissions, draws in his forces within the verge of the English Plantations, from whence he dismiseth the gratest part of his Army to gether strength against the next designed march, which was no sooner don but he incounters the newes of the Governours being arived at towne. Of which being informed he with a marvellous celerity (outstriping the swift wings of fame) marcheth those few men now with him (which hee had onely reserved as a gard to his parson) and in a trice blocks up the Governour in towne, to the generall astonishment of the whole

Bacon blocks  
the Gov. up in  
towne.

countray; especially when that Bacons numbers was knowne; which at this time did not exseed above a hundred and fifty, and these not above two thirds at work neather. An action of so strange an aspect, that whoever tooke notis of it, could not choose but thinke but that the Accomackians eather intended to receive their promised pay, without desart; or otherways to establish such signall testimonies of their cowardize, or disaffections, or both, that posterity might stand and gaze at their reched stupidity.

Bacon soone perceived what easye worke he was likely to have, in this servis, and so begun to set as small an esteeme upon these mens curages, as they did upon their owne credits. Hee saw, by the Prolog, what sport might be expected in the play, and so began to dispose of his affaires accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once knowne, to those in towne, it might raise their hearts to a degree of curage, haveing so much the ods, and that manitimes number prevailes against ressolution, he thought it not amiss, since the Lions strength was too weake, to strengthen the same with the Foxes Braines: and how this was to be efected you shall heare.

For emediately he despatcheth two or three parties of Horss, and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring into the camp some of the prime Gent: women, whose husbands were in towne. Where when arived he sends one

Bacon sends  
for severall  
Gent: women  
into the camp,  
and for what.

of them to inform her owne, and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be plac'd in the fore frunt of his men, at such time as those in towne should sally forth upon him.

The poor Gent: women were mightily astonished at this project; neither were their husbands void of amazements at this subtil invention. If Mr. Fuller thought it strange, that the Divells black gard should be enrouled Gods soulders, they made it no less wonderful, that their innocent and harmless wives should thus be entred a white garde to the Divell. This action was a method, in war, that they were not well acquainted with (no not those the best inform'd in millitary affaires) that before they could com to pearce their enimmies sides, they must be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives brest: By which meanes though they (in their owne parsons) might escape without wounds, yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better halfe to drop by gunshot, or otherways be wounded to death.

Whether it was these considerations, or some others, I do not know, that kep their swords in their scabards: But this is manifest, That Bacon knit more knots by his owne head in one day, than all the hands in towne was able to untye in a wholl weeke: While these Ladyes white Aprons became of grater force to keepe the beseiged from falleing out than his works (a pitiful trench) had strength to repel the weakest shot, that should have bin sent into his legure, had he not made use of this invention.

For it is to be noted that right in his frunt, where he was to lodge his men, the Governour had planted 3 grate guns, for to play poynt blank upon his men, as they were at worke, at about 100 or 150 paces distance; and then again, on his right hand, allmost close aborde the shore, lay the ships, with their broad sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslante; this being the onely place, by land, for him to make his entrey into the towne; But for your better satisfaction, or rather those who you may show this naritive to, who have never bin upon the place, take this short description.

The description of Iames towne. The place, on which the towne is built, is a perfect Peninsulla, or tract of land, allmost wholly incompast with water. Haveing, on the Sowth side the River (Formerly Powhetan, now called Iames River) 3 miles brode, incompast on the North, from the Easte pointe, with a deep creek, ranging in a cemicircle, to the west, within 10 paces of the River; and there, by a small Istmos, tack'd to the Continent. This Iseland (for so it is denominate) hath for Longitude (East and West) nere upon two miles, and for Latitude about halfe so much, bearing in the wholl compass about 5 miles, litle more or less. It is low ground, full of Marches and Swomps, which make the Aire, especially in the Sumer, insalubrious and unhelthy: It is not at all replenished with springs of fresh water, and that which they have in their wells, brackish,

ill sented, penurious, and not gratefull to the stumack ; which render the place improper to indure the commencement of a seige. The Towne is built much about the midle of the Sowth line, close upon the River, extending east and west, about 3 quarters of a mile ; in which is comprehended som 16 or 18 houses, most as is the church built of brick, faire and large ; and in them about a dozen families (for all the howses are not inhabited) getting their liveings by keeping of ordnaries, at extreordinary rates.

The Governour understanding that the Gent : women, at the Legure, was, by order, drawne out of danger, resolved if possible to beate Bacon out of his trench ; which he thought might easily be performed, now that his Gardian Angles had forsaken his camp. For the efecting of which he sent forth 7 or (as they say) 800 of his Accomackians, who (like scholers goeing to school) went out with hevie harts, but returned hom with light heeles ; thinkeing it better to turne their backs upon that storme, that their brests could not indure to strugle against, for feare of being gauled in their sides, or other parts of their bodys, through the sharpness of the wether ; which (after a terable noyse of thunder and lightning out of the Easte) begun to blow with a powder (and some lead too as big as musket boolitts) full in their faces, and that with so grate a violence, that som of them was not able to stand upon their leggs, which made the rest betake themselves to their heeles ; as the onely expedient to save their lives ; which som amongst them had rather to have lost, then to have owned their safety at the price of such dishonourable rates.

A salley made upon Bacon.

The Governour was extremely disgusted at the ill management of this action, which he exprest in som passionate terms, against those who merited the same. But in ernist, who could expect the event to be otherways then it was, when at the first notis given, for the designed salley to be put in execution, som of the officers made such crabed faces at the report of the same, that the Guner of Yorke Fort did proffer to purchase, for any that would buy a Collonells, or a Captains Commission, for a chunke of a pipe.

The next day Bacon orders 3 grate guns to be brought into the camp, two whereof he plants upon his trench. The one he sets to worke (playing som calls it, that takes delight to see stately structurcs beated downe, and men blowne up into the air, like Shutle Cocks) against the Ships, the other against the enterance into the towne, for to open a pasage to his intended storm, which now was resolved upon as he said, and which was pre-

The Gov. leaves towne. vented by the Governours forsakeing the place, and shiping himselfe once more to Accomack; taking along with him all the towne people, and their goods, leaving all the grate Guns naled up, and the howses emty for Bacon to enter at his pleasure, and which he did the next morning before day: Where, contrary to his hopes, he met with nothing that might satisfie eather himselfe or soulders desires, except few horses, two or three sellers of wine, and some small quantity of Indian Corne with a grate many Taned hides.

The Governour did not presently leave Iames River, but rested at an Ancor some 20 miles below the towne, which made Bacon entertaine some thoughts, that eather hee might have a desire to reenter his late left quarters, or return and block him up, as he had Sir William. And that there was som probabilitety Sir W. might steare such a course was news from Potomack (a province within the North Verge of Verginia) that Collonell Brent was marching at the head of 1000 soulders towards towne in vindication of the Governours quarill. The better to prevent Sir Williams designes (if he had a desire to returne) and to hinder his conjunction with Brent (after that he had consulted with his Cabinet Councill) he in the most barbarous manner converts the wholl towne into flames, cinders and ashes, not so much as spareing the church, and the first that ever was in Verginia.

Bacon sets the towne on fire.

Having performed this flagitious, and sacralidgious action (which put the worst of Sperits into a horid consternation, at so inhumane a fact) he marches his men to the Greene spring (the Governours howse soe named) where having stade (feasting his armye at the Governours cost) two or 3 days, till he was informed of Sir Williams motion, he wafts his soulders over the River at Tindells point, into Glocester county: takeing up his head quarters at Collonell Warners; from whence hee sends out his mandates, through the wholl county, to give him a meeting at the Court-howse; there to take the ingagement, that was first promoted at the Midle Plantation: for as yet, in this county, it was not admitted. While he was seduously contriving this affaيرة, one Capt. Potter arives in post haste from Rapahanock, with newes that Coll: Brent was advancing fast upon him (with a resolution to fight him) at the head of 1000 men, what horse what foote, if he durst stay the commencement. Hee had no sooner red the letter, but hee commands the drums to beate for the gathering his soulders under their colours; which being don he acquaints them with Brents numbers

Goes over into Gloster.

Bacon resolved to fight Brent.



and resolutions to fight, and then demands theirs; which was cherefully answered in the affirmative, with showtes and acclamations, while the drums thunders a march to meet the promised conflict: The soulders with abundance of cherefullness disburthening themselves of all impediments to expedition, order, and good disciplining, excepting their oathes, and wenches.

Bacon had not marched above 2 or 3 days journey (and those but short ones too, as being loth to tire his laborours before they came to their worke) but he meets newes in post hast, that Brents men (not soulders) were all run away, and left him to shift for himselfe. For they Brents men forsake him. haveing heard that Bacon had beate the Governour out of the towne they began to be afeared (if they should com within his reach) that he might beat them out of their lives, and so resolved not to come nere him. Collonell Brent was mightily astonished at the departure of his followers, saying that they had forsaken the stowtest man, and ruin'd the fairest estate in Virginia; which was by their cowardize, or disaffections, exposed to the mercy of the Baconians. But they being (as they thought) more obliged to looke after their own concernes and lives, then to take notis, eather of his vallour, or estate, or of their owne credits, were not to be rought upon by any thing that he could do or say; contrary to their own fancies.

This business of Brents haveing (like the hoggs the devill sheared) produced more noyse than wooll, Bacon, according to summons, meets the Gloster men at the Court howse: where appeared som 6 or 7 hundred horss and foot, with their arms. After that Bacon, in a long Harange, had tendered them the ingagement (which as yet they had not taken, and now was the only cause of this convention) one Mr. Cole offered the sence of all the The oath tendered to the Gloster men. Gloster men there present: which was sumed up in their desires, not to have the oath imposed upon them, but to be indulged the benefitt of Neutralitie: But this he would not grant, telling of them that in this their request they appeared like the worst of sinners, who had a desire to be saved with the righteous, and yet would do nothing whereby they might obtaine there salvation; and so offering to go away, one Coll: Gouge (of his party) calls to him and told him, that he had onely spoke to the Horss (meaning the Troopers) and not to the foote. Bacon, in som passion, replide, he had spoke to the Men, and not to the Horss; having left that servis for him to do, because one beast best would understand the meaneing of another. And because a minister, one Mr. Wading, did not onely refuse to take the Ingagement,

**Mr. Wading,**  
a minister im  
prisoned.

but encouraged others to make him their example, Bacon committed him to the Gard; telling off him that it was his place to preach in the church, not in the camp: In the first he might say what he pleased, but in the last, he was to say no more than what should please him; unless he could fight to better purpose then he could preach.

The Gloster men having taken the ingagement, (which they did not till another meeteing, and in another place) and all the worke don on this side the Western shore, Bacon thought it not amiss, but worth his labour, to go and see how the Accomackians did. It must be confest that he was a Gent: man of a liberall education, and so consequently must be replenished with good manners, which inables, and obligeth all civell parsons both to remember, and repay received curteces: which made him not to forget those kindnesses the Accomackians bestowed, in his absence, on his friends, and their neighbours, the Verginians: and so now he resolved (since he had nothing ells to do) for to go and repay their kind hearted vissitt. But first he thought good to send them word of his good meaneing, that they might not plead want of time, for want of knowledg, to provide a reception answerable to his quallety, and attendance. This was pritty faire play, but really the Accomackians did not halfe like it. They had rather his Honour would have had the patience to have stade till he had bin invited, and then he should have bin much more wellcom. But this must not hinder his jurney; if nothing ells interveine they must be troubled, with a troublesom guest, as their neighbours had bin, for a grate while together, to their extraordinary charge, and utter undoeing. But their kinde, and very mercyfull fate, to whom they, and their Posteritye, must ever remane indebted, observeing their cares and feares, by an admireable, and ever to be cellibrated providence, removed the causes. For

Bacon haveing for som time, bin beseiged by sickness, and now not able to hould out any longer; all his strength, and provisions being spent, surrendered up that Fort, he was no longer able to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death; after that he had implored the assistance of the above mention'd Minister, for the well making his Articles of Rendition. The onely Religious duty (as they say) he was observed to perform dureing these Intregues of affaires, in which he was so considerable an actor, and soe much consearned, that rather then he would

**Bacon dyes**  
October 1st.

decline the cause, he became so deeply engaged in the first rise thereof, though much urged by arguments of dehortations, by his nearest relations, and best friends, that he subjected himselfe to all those inconveniences that, singly, might bring a man of a more Robust frame to his last hom. After he was dead he was bemoaned in these following lines (drawne by the man that waited upon his person, as it is said) and who attended his corps to their Buriall place: But where deposited till the Generall day, not knowne, onely to those who are resolutely silent in that particular. There was many coppes of verces made after his departure, calculated to the Latitude of their affections who composed them; as a relish taken from both appetites I have here sent you a cuple.

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*Bacons Epitaph, made by his Man.*

DEATH why soe crewill! what no other way  
Tu manifest thy spleene, but thus to slay  
Our hopes of safety; liberty, our all  
Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall  
To its late caoss? Had thy rigid force  
Bin delt by retale, and not thus in gross  
Grief had bin silent: Now wee must complaine  
Since thou, in him, hast more then thousand slane  
Whose lives and safetys did so much depend  
On him there lif, with him there lives must end.  
If 't be a sin to think Death brib'd can bee  
Wee must be guilty; say twas bribery  
Guided the fatall shaft. Virginias foes  
To whom for secret crimes, just vengeance owes  
Disarved plagues, dreding their just disart  
Corrupted Death by Parasscellician art  
Him to destroy; whose well tride curage such,  
There heartless harts, nor arms, nor strength could touch.  
Who now must heale those wounds, or stop that blood  
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood?  
Who is't must pleade our Cause? nor Trump nor Drum  
Nor Deputations; these alas are dumb,  
And Cannot speake. Our Arms (though near so strong)  
Will want the aide of his Commanding tongue,  
Which conquer'd more then Ceaser: He orethrew  
Onely the outward frame; this could subdue

*Bacons Epitaph.*

The rugged workes of nature. Soules replete  
 With dull Child could, he'd annemate with heate  
 Drawne forth of reasons Lymbick. In a word  
 Marss and Minerva, both in him Concurd  
 For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike  
 As Catos did, may admiration strike  
 Into his foes; while they confess with all  
 It was their guilt stil'd him a Criminall.  
 Onely this differance does from truth proceed  
 They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed.  
 While none shall dare his obseques to sing  
 In deserv'd measures; untill time shall bring  
 Truth Crown'd with freedom, and from danger free  
 To sound his praises to posterity.

Here let him rest; while wee this truth report  
 Hee's gon from hence unto a high Court  
 To pleade his Cause where he by this doth know  
 Whether to Ceaser hee was friend, or foe.

*Upon the Death of G. B.*

WHETHER to Ceaser he was Friend or Foe?  
 Pox take such Ignorance, do you not know?  
 Can he be Friend to Ceaser, that shall bring  
 The Arms of Hell, to fight against the King?  
 (Treason, Rebellion) then what reason have  
 Wee for to waite upon him to his Grave,  
 There to express our passions? Wilt not bee  
 Worse then his crimes, to sing his Ellegie  
 In well tun'd numbers; where each Ella beares  
 (To his Flagitious name) a flood of teares?  
 A name that hath more soules with sorrow fed,  
 Then reched Niobe, single teares ere shed;  
 A name that fil'd all hearts, all eares, with paine,  
 Untill blest fate proclam'd, Death had him slane.  
 Then how can it be counted for a sin  
 Though Death (nay though myselfe) had bribed bin,  
 To guide the fatall shaft? we honour all  
 That lends a hand unto a Trators fall.  
 What though the well paide Rochit soundly ply  
 And box the Pulpitt, into flattery;  
 Urging his Rhetorick, and strain'd elloquence,  
 T' adorne incoffin'd filth, and excrements;

Though the Defunct (like ours) nere tride  
 A well intended deed untill he dide?  
 'Twill be nor sin, nor shame, for us, to say  
 A two fould Passion checker workes this day  
 Of Joy and Sorrow ; yet the last doth move  
 On feete impotent, wanting strength to prove  
 (Nor can the art of Logick yield releife)  
 How Joy should be surmounted by our greafe.  
 Yet that wee Greave it cannot be denide,  
 But 'tis because he was, not cause he dide.  
 So wep the poore distressed, Ilium Dames  
 Hereing those nam'd, their City put in flames,  
 And countrey ruin'd ; If we thus lament  
 It is against our present loyes consent.  
 For if the rule in Phisick, trew doth prove,  
 Remove the cause, th' effects will after move,  
 We have outliv'd our sorrows ; since we see  
 The causes shifting of our misery.  
 Nor is't a single cause, that's slipt away,  
 That made us warble out, a well-a-day.  
 The Branes to plot, the hands to execute  
 Projected ills, Death Ioyntly did nonsute  
 At his black Bar. And what no Baile could save  
 He hath committed Prissoner to the Grave ;  
 From whence there's no reprove. Death keep him close  
*We hate too many Divells still goe loose.*

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### Ingrams Proseedings.

The lion had no sooner made his exitt, but the ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage. Bacon was no sooner removed by the hand of good providence, but another steps in, by the wheele of fickle fortune. The countrey had, for some time, been guided by a company of knaves, now it was to try how it would behave itselfe under a foole. Bacon had not long been dead, (though it was a long time before som would beleive that he was dead) but one Ingram (or Isgrum, which you will) takes up Bacons Commission (or ells by the patterne of that cuts him out a new one) and as though he had bin his natureall heire, or that Bacons

Ingram takes  
 up Bacons  
 Commission.

Commission had bin granted not onely to himselfe but to his Executors, Administrators and Assignes, he (in the millitary Court) takes out a Probit of Bacons will and proclames himselfe his successor.

This Ingram, when that he came first into the countrey, had got upon his back the title of an Esquire, but how he came by it may pussel all the Heralds in England to find out, until he informs them of his right name : however, by the helpe of this (and his fine capering, for it is saide that he could dance well upon a Rope) he capered himselfe into a fine (though short lived) estate : by marying here, with a rich widow, vallued at some hundreds of pounds.

The first thing that this fine fellow did, after that he was mounted upon the back of his commission, was to spur or switch those who were to pay obedience unto his Authority, by geting himselfe proclaimed Generall of all the forces now raised, or hereafter to be raised, in Virginia : Which, while it was performing at the head of the armye, the milkesop stode with his hat in his hand, lookeing as demürelly as the grate Turks Muftie, at the readeing of som holy sentance, extracted forth of the Alchron. The Bell-man haveing don, he put on his hat, and his Jannesarys threw up their caps ; crying out as loud as they could bellow, God save our new Generall, hopeing, no doubt, but he, in imitation of the grate Sultaine, at his election, would have enlarged their pay, or ells have given them leave to have made Iewes of the best Christians in the Countrey : but he being more than halfe a Iew himselfe, at present forbad all plunderings, but such as he himselfe should be parsonally at.

It was not long before the Governour (still at Accomack) had intimation of Bacons death. He had a long time bin shut up in the Ark (as we may say) and now thought good to send out a winged messinger to see, if happily, the Delluge was any whit abated ; and whether any dry ground emerged its head, on which with safety, he might sett his foot, without danger of being wetshod in blood, which accordingly he effected, under the command of one Major Beverly : a parson calculated to the Latitude of the servis, which required descretion, curage, and celerity, as qualetys wholly subservient to millitary affaires : And although he returned not with an Olive branch in his mouth, the Hyrogliph of peace, yet he went back with the laurell upon his browes, the emblim of conquest and triumph, haveing snapt up one Coll : Hansford, and his party, who kep garde, at the Howse where Coll : Reade

Proclamed  
Generall.

Beverly takes  
Hansford.

did once live. It is saide that Hansford, at (or a little before) the onslant, had forsaken the capitole of Marss, to pay his oblations in the temple of Venus; which made him the easere pray to his enimies; but this I have onely upon report, and must not aver it upon my historically reputation: But if it was soe, it was the last sacryfize he ever after offered at the shrine of that Luxurious Diety, for presently after that he came to Accomack, he had the ill luck to be the first Verginian borne that dyed upon a paire of Gallows. When that he came to the place of Execution (which was about a mile removed from his prison) he seemed very well resolved to undergo the utmost mallize of his not over kinde Destinies, onely complaineing of the maner of his death. Being observed neather at the time of his tryall (which was by a Court Martiall) nor afterwards, to supplicate any other favour, than that he might be shot like a soulder, and not to be hanged like a Dog. But it was tould him, that what he so passionately petitioned for could not be granted, in that he was not condemned as he was merely a soldier, but as a Rebell, taken in Arms, against the king, whose laws had ordained him that death. During the short time he had to live after his sentence he approved to his best advantage for the wellfare of his soul, by repentance and contrition for all his sins, in generall, excepting his Rebellion, which he would not acknowledge; desireing the people at the place of execution, to take notis that he dyed a loyal subject, and a lover of his countrey; and that he had never taken up arms, but for the destruction of the Indians, who had murdered so many Christians.

Hansford Executed.

The business being so well accomplished by those who had taken Hansford, did so raise their spirits, that they had no sooner delivered their freight at Accomack, but they hoysed up their sailes, and back againe to Yorke River, where with a marvellous celerity they surpris one Major Cheise-Man, and som others, amongst whom one Capt. Wilford, who (it is saide) in the bickering lost one of his eyes, which he seemed litle concerned at, as knowing, that when he came to Accomack, that though he had bin starte blinde, yet the Governour would take care for to afford him a guide that should show him the way to the gallows. Since he had promised him a hanging, long before, as being one of those that went out with Bacon, in his first expedition against the Indians, without a commission.

Cheis-man and Wilford taken by Beverly.

This Capt. Wilford, though he was but a litle man, yet he had a grate heart, and was known to be no coward. He had, for some yeares bin an interpreter betwene the English and the

Indians, in whose affaires he was well acquainted, which rendred him the more acceptable to Bacon, who made use of him all along in his Indian war. By birth he was the second son of a knight, who had lost his life and estate in the late kings quarill, against the surnamed long Parliament, which forst him to Virginia (the onely city of refuge left in his Majesties dominions, in those times, for distressed Cavallers) to seeke his fortunes, which through his industrey began to be considerable, if the kindness of his fate had bin more perminent, and not destined his life to so reched a death. Major Cheisman, Cheisman dies before he came to his tryall, dyed in prison, of feare, of grieffe, or bad useage, for all these are reported; and so by one death prevented another more dreadfull to flesh and blood.

There is one remarkable passage reported of this Major Cheismans Lady, which because it sounds to the honor of her sex, and consequently of all loveing Wives, I will not deny it a roome in this Narrative.

When that the Major was brought into the Governours presence, and by him demanded, what made him to ingage in Bacons designes? Before that the Major could frame an answer to the Governours demand; his Wife steps in and tould his honour that it was her provocations that made her Husband joyne in the cause that Bacon contended for; ading, that if he had not bin influenced by her instigations, he had never don that which he had done. Therefore (upon her bended knees) she desired of his honour, that since what her husband had done, was by her meanes, and so, by consequence, she most guilty, that she might be hanged, and he pardoned. Though the Governour did know, that what she had saide, was neare to the truth, yet he said litle to her request, onely telling of her that she was a W—. But his honour was angrey, and therefore this expression must be interpreted the effects of his passion, not his meaneing: For it is to be understood in reason, that there is not any woman, who hath so small affection for her Husband, as to dishonour him by her dishonisty, and yet retaine such a degree of love, that rather then he should be hanged, she will be content to submit her owne life to the sentance, to keep her husband from the gallows.

Capt. Farlow executed. Capt. Carver and Capt. Farlow was now (or about this time) executed, as is before hinted. Farlow was related to Cheisman, as he had married Farlows neice. When that he went first into the servis (which



was presently after that Bacon had received his commission) he was chosen commander of those recruits sent out of Yorke County, to make up Bacons numbers, according to the gage of his commission, limited for the Indian servis; and by Sir William (or some one of the Councell) recommended to Bacon, as a fitt parson to be commander of the saide party. These terms, by which he became engaged, under Bacons commands, he urged in his pley, at his triall: ading, that if he had, in what he had don, denyed the Generalls orders, it was in his power to hang him, by the judgment of a Court Martiall; and that he had acted nothing but in obedience to the Generalls Authority. But it was replide against him, that he was put under Bacons command for the servis of the countrey, against the Indians, which employ he ought to have kep to, and not to have acted beyond his bounds, as he had done: And since he went into the Army under the Governours orders, he was required to search the same, and see if he could find one that Commissionated him to take up Arms in opposition to the Governours Authority and parson: Neather had Bacon any other power, by his commission (had the same bin ever so legally obtained) but onely to make war upon the Indians. Farlow rejoyned, that Bacon was, by his commission, to see that the Kings peace was kep, and to suppress those that should endeavour to Perturbe the same. It was replied, this might be granted him, and he might make his advantage of it, but was required to consider, whether the Kings peace was to be kep in resisting the Kings emediate Governour, so as to levy a war against him; and so commanded him to be silent while his sentence was pronounced. This man was much pittied by those who were acquainted with him, as one of a peaceable disposition, and a good scholer, which one might think should have enabled him to have taken a better estimate of his employment, as he was acquainted with the Mathumaticks: But it seems the Asstrolabe, or Quadrant, are not the fittest instruments to take the altitude of a subjects duty; the same being better demonstrated by practicall, not speculative observations.

The nimble and timely servis, performed by Major Beverly (before mentioned) haveing opened the way, in some measure, the Governour once more salleyeth out for the Westerne shore, there to make tryall of his better fortune; which now began to cast a more favourable aspect upon him and his affaires; by removeing the maine obstacles out of the way, by a death, eather natureall or violent, (the one the ordinary, the other the extraordinary workings of Providence) which had with such pertinances, and violent perstrings,

Sir W. removed  
to York river.

posed his most auspicious proceedings. The last time he came, he made choyce of James River; now he was resolved to set up his rest in Yorke, as having the nearest vicinity to Gloster County (the River onely interposing betwene it and Yorke) in which though the enemy was the strongest (as desiring to make it the seate of the Warr in regard of severall locall conveniences) yet in it he knew that his friends was not the weakest, whether wee respect number, or furniture. It is trew they had taken the ingagement (as the rest had) to Bacon; but he being dead and the ingagement being only personall, was lade in the grave with him, for it was not made to himselfe, his heirs, executors, administrator, and assignes; if other ways it might have bin indued with a kind of immortality; unless the sword, or juster (or grater) power might happen to wound it to death. But, however, Bacon being dead, and with him his Commission, all those, who had taken the ingagement, were now at liberty to go and chuse themselves another master.

But though his honour knew that though they were discharged from the binding power of the oath, yet they were not free from the commanding power of those men that was still in Arms, in persuance of those ends for which the ingagement was pretended to be taken: And that before this could be effected, those men must first be beaten from their arms, before the other could get their heeles at liberty, to do him any servis. Therefore he began to cast about how he might remove those blocks which stode in the Gloster mens way: which being once don, it must take away all Pretences, and leave them without all excuse, if they should offer to sit still, when he, and his good providence together, had not onely knock'd off their shackles, but eather imprissoned their Taylers, or tide them up to the gallows.

He had with him now in Yorke River 4 shippes  
 The strength besides 2 or 3 sloops. Three of the ships he  
 Sir Will. had, brought with him from Accomack; the other (a  
 at his coming to marchant-man, as the rest were) was som time  
 Yorke. before arrived out of England, and in these about  
 150 men, at his emediate command; and no more he had when  
 he came into Yorke River: Where being settled in consultation  
 with his friends, for the manageing of his affaires, to the best  
 advantage; he was informed that there was a party of the Baconians (for so they were still denominated, on that side, for destination sake) that had settled themselves in their winter quarters, at the howse of one Mr. Howards, in Gloster county.

For to keepe these Vermin from breeding, in their warm kenill, he thought good, in time, for to get them ferited out.

For the accomplishment of which peice of servis, he very secretly despatcheth away a select number under the conduct of Major Beverly, who very nimbly performed the same, having the good fortune (as it is saide) to catch them all asleepe. And least the good man of the howse should forgett this good servis, that Beverly had don him, in removinge his (to him) chargable guest, with these sleepers, he conveyes a good quantety of their landlords goods aborde: the Baconians (where of one a Leift. Collonell) to remane prissoners, and the goods to be divided amongst those whose servis had made them such, according to the Law of Arms; which Howard will have to be the Law of HARMS, by placinge the first letter of his name before the vowill A.

Beverly surpriseth Coll: Harris, in Gloster.

But in ernist (and to leave jesting) Howard did really think it hard measure, to see that go out of his store, by the sword, which he intended to deliver out by the Ell, or yard. Neather could his wife halfe like the markitt; when she saw the Chapmen carey her Daughters Husband away Prissoner, and her owne fine clothes goeing into captivity; to be sould by match and pin; and after worne by those who (before these times) was not worth a point; yet it is thought, that the ould Gent: woman, was not so much concerned that her Son in Law was made a prissoner, as her Daughter was vext, to see they had not left one man upon the Plantation, to comfort neather herself nor mother.

This Block (and no less was the commander of the forementioned sleepers) being removed out of the way, the Gloster men began to stir abrode: not provoked thereto out of any hopes of getting, but through a feare of losing. They did plainly perceve that if they themselves did not goe to worke, somebody ells would, while they (for their negligence) might be compeld to pay them their wages; and what that might come to they could not tell, since it was probable, in such servises, the Laberours would be their own carvers; and it is commonly knowne, that soulders make no conscience to take more then their due.

The Gloster men rise for Sir W.

The worke that was now to be don, in these parts (and further I cannot go for want of a guide) was cut out into severall parcells, according as the Baconians had devided the same. And first at Wests Point (an Isthmos which gives the denomination to the two Rivers, Pomankey and Mattapony (Indian names) that branch forth of York River, som 30 miles above Tindells point) there was planted a garde of about 200 soulders. This place Bacon had de-

What soulders at West Point.

signed to make his prime Randevouze, or place of Retreat, in respect of severall locall convenencis, this place admited off, and which hee found fitt for his purpose, for sundry reasons. Here it was, I thinke, that Ingram did chiefly reside, and from whence he drew his recruts, of men and munition. The next Parcell,

At Greene  
Spring.

considerable, was at Green-spring (the Governours howse) into which was put about 100 men and boys, under the command of one Capt. Drew; who was resolutely bent (as he said) to keep the place in spite of all opposition, and that he might the better keepe his promise he caused all the Avenues, and approaches to the same, to be baracadoed up, and 3 great guns planted to beate of the As-

At Collonell  
Bacons.

salents. A third parcell (of about 30 or 40) was put into the howse of Collonell Nath. Bacons (a gent: man related to him deceased, but not of his principles) under the command of one Major Whaly, a stout ignorant fellow (as most of the rest) as may be seene hereafter; these were the most considerablest parteys that the Gloster men were to deal with, and which they had promised to reduce to obedience, or other ways to beate them out of their lives, as som of them (perhaps not well acquainted with millitary affairs, or too well conseated of there owne vallour) bosted to doe.

The Parson that, by commission, was to perform this worke, was one Major Lawrence Smith (and for this servis so entitled, as it is said) a gent: man that in his time had hued out many a knotty peice of worke, and soe the better knew how to handle such rugged fellowes as the Baconians were famed to be.

The place for him to congregate his men at (I say congregate as a word not improper, since his second in dignity, was a Mines-ter, who had lade downe the Miter and taken up the Helmet) was at one Major Pates (in whose howse Bacon had surrendred up both life and commission; the one to him that gave it, the other to him that toke it) where there appeared men enough to have beaten all the Rebels in the countrey, onely with their Axes and Hoes, had they bin led on by a good overseer.

I have eather heard, or have read, That a compleate Generall ought to be owner of these 3 induments: Wisdom to foresee, Experience to chuse, and Curage to execute. He that wants the 2 last, can never have the first; since a wise man will never undertake more then he is able to perform; He that hath the 2 first, wanting the last, makes but a lame commander; since Curage is an inseperable Adjunct to the bare name of a soulder, much more to a Generall: He that wants the second, haveing the first

The properties  
of a good gene-  
rall.

and the last, is no less imperfect than the other; since without experience, wisdom and courage (like yong Doctors) do but grope in the darke, or strike by gess.

Much about the time that the Gloster men mustred at M. Pates, there was a rising in Middlesex, upon the same account: Who were no sooner gott upon their feet, but the Baconians resolves to bring them on their knees. For the efecting of which Ingram speeds away one Walklett, his Leift. Generall, (a man much like the master) with a party of Horss, to do the worke. M. L. Smith was quickly informed upon what arend Walklett was sent, and so, with a generous ressolution, resolves to be at his heeles, if not before hand with him, to helpe his friends in their distress. And because he would not all together trust to others, in affaires of this nature, he advanceth at the head of his owne Troops, (what Horss what Foote for number, is not in my intillgence) leaveing the rest for to fortify Major Pates howse, and so speeds after Walklett who, before Smith could reach the required distance, had performed his worke, with litle labour, and (hereing of Smiths advance) was prepareing to give him a Reception answerable to his designements: swareing to fight him though Smith should out number him cent per cent; and was not this a dareing ressolution of a Boy that hardly ever saw a sword, but in a scaberd?

A rising in  
Middlesex

Walklett sent  
to suppress it.

Smith marches  
after Walklett.

In the meane time that this buisness was a doeing, Ingram understanding upon what designe M. L. Smith was gon about, by the advice of his officers strikes in betweene him and his new made (and new mand) Garrison at M. Pates. He very nimbly invests the Howse, and then summons the soulders (then under the command of the fore said minester) to a speedy rendition or otherways to stand out to mercy, at their utmost perill. After som toos and froes about the buisness (quite beyond his text) the minester accepts of such Articles, for a surrender, as pleased Ingram, and his Mermidons, to grant.

Ingram takes  
the Gloster  
men at M.  
Pates.

Ingram had no sooner don this jobby of jurney worke (of which he was not a litle proud) but M. L. Smith (haveing retracted his march out of Middlesex, as thinkeing it little less then a disparagement to have any thing to doe with Walklett) was upon the back of Ingram before he was aware, and at which he was not a litle daunted, feareing that he had beate Walklett to pieces in Middlesex. But he perceving that the Gloster men did not weare (in

M. L. Smith re-  
tracts his march  
from Walklett.

their faces, the countinances of conquerers, nor their cloathes the marks of any late ingagement (being free from the honourable staines of Wounds and Gun shott) he began to hope the best, and the Gloster men to feare the worst: and what the properties of feare is, let Feltham tell you, who saith, That if curage be a good oriter, feare is a bad counceller, and a worse Ingineare. For instead of erecting, it beates and batters downe all Bull-works of defence: perswading the feeble hart that there is no safety in armed Troops, Iron gates, nor Stone walls. In opposition of which Passion I will appose the Properties of its Antithesis, and say, That as som men are never vallent but in the midst of discourse, so others never manifest their curage but in the midst of danger: Never more alive then when in the jawes of Death, crowded up in the midst of fire, smoke, swords and guns; and then not so much laying about them through desperation, or to save their lives, as through a Generossety of Spirit, to trample upon the lives of their enimies.

Major Bristow  
chall: to In-  
gram.

For the saveing of Pouder and Shott (or rather through the before mentioned Generossety of curage) one Major Bristow (on Smiths side) made a Motion to try the equity, and justness of the quar-rill, by single combett: Bristow proffering himselfe against any one (being a Gent.) on the other side; this was noble, and like a soulder. This motion (or rather challenge) was as redely accepted by Ingram, as proffered by Bristow; Ingram swareing, the newest oath in fashion, that he would be the Man; and so advanceth on foot, with sword and Pistell, against Bristow; but was fetched back by his owne men, as douteing the justness of their cause, or in consideration of the desparety that was betwene the two Antagonists. For though it might be granted, that in a private condition, Bristow was the better man, yet now it was not to be alowed, as Ingram was entitled.

This buisness not fadging, betwene the two champions, the Gloster men began to entertaine strange, and new Recessions, quite Retrogade to their pretentions, and what was by all good men expected from the promising aspects of this there Leagueing against a usurping power. It is said that a good cause and a good Deputation, is a lawfull Authorety for any man to fight by; yet neather of these, joynly nor severally, hath a coercive power, to make a man a good soulder: If he wants Courage, though he is inlisted under both, yet is he not starling quoyne: he is at best but Coper, stampd with the Kings impress, and will pass for no more then his just vallew. As to a good cause, doutless, they had satisfied themselves as to that, ells what were

they at this time a contending for, and for whom? And as for a good Deputation, if they wanted that, wherefore did they so miserably befoole themselves, as to run into the mouths of their enimies, and there to stand still like a company of sheep, with the knife at their throtes, and never so much as offer to Bleat; for the saveing of their lives, liberties, estates, and what to truly vallient men is of greater vallew then these, their creditts? all which now lay at the mercy of their enimies, by a tame surrender of their Arms and Parsons into the hands of Ingram (without strikeing one stroke) who having made all the cheife men prissoners (excepting those who first run away) he dismist the rest to there owne abodes, there to sun up the number of those that were eather slane or wounded, in this servis.

The Gloster  
men submit to  
Ingram.

Much about this time, of the Gloster buisness, his hon. sends abroad a party of men, from off aboarde, under the command of one Hubert Farrill, to sferitt out a company of the Rebells, who kep Gard at Coll. Bacons, under the power of Major Whaley, before mentioned. Coll. Bacon himselfe, and one Coll: Ludwell, came along with Farrill, to see to the management of the enterprise; about which they tooke all possible care, that it might prove fortunate. For they had so sooner resolved upon the onsett, but they consult on the manner, which was to be effected by a Generossety paralell with the designe; which required Curage, and expedition: and so concludes not to answer the Centreys by firing; but to take, kill, or drive them up to their Avenues, and then to enter pell mell with them into the howse: this method was good had it bin as well executed, as contrived. But the Centrey had no sooner made the challenge, with his mouth, demanding who coms there? but the other answer with their Musquits (which seldom speaks the language of friends) and that in so loud a maner, that it alaramed those in the howse to a defence, and then into a posture to salley out. Which the other perceveing (contrary to their first orders) wheelles of from the danger, to finde a place for their securtyie, which they in part found, behinde som out buildings, and from whence they fired one upon the other, givinge the Bullits leave to grope their owne way in the dark (for as yet it was not day) till the Generall was shot through his loynes; and in his fate all the soulders (or the greater part) through their hearts, now sunke into their heels which they were now making use of instead of their hands, the better to save their jacksits, of which they had bin certainly stript, had they com under ther enimies

Farrill attempts  
the Baconians  
under Whalys  
command.

fingers, who knowes better how to steale then fight, Farrill killed. notwithstanding this uneven cast of Fortunes malize. Being a conflict, in which the losers have cause to repent, and the winers Faith to give God thanks ; unless with the same devotion Theives do when that they have stript honest men out of their mony. Here was none but their Generall kild, whose commission was found dropping-wett with his owne blood, in his pockitt ; and 3 or 4 taken prisoners ; what wounded not knowne, if any, in their backs ; as their enimies say ; who gloryed more in their Conquest then ever Scanderbeg did, for the greatest victory he ever obtained against the Turkes. If Sir Williams cause were no better then his fortunes, hitherto, how many prossellites might his disasters bring over to the tother side ? but God forbid that the justice of all quarills should be estimated by their events.

Yet here in this action (as well as som other before) who can chuse but deplore the strange fate that the Governour was subjected to, in the evill choyce of his cheife-commanders, for the leadeing on his millitary transactions ; that when his cause should com to a day of heareing, they should want curage to put in their pley of defence, against their Adverssarys arguments ; and pittifully to stand still and see themselves nonsuted, in every sneaking adventure, or Action, that called upon their Generossety, (if they had had any) to vindicate their indubitable pretences against a usurped power.

It is trew Whalys condition was desperate, and hee was resolved that his Curage should be conformable and as desperate as his condition. He did not want intilligence how Hansford, and som others, was sarved at Accomack ; which made him thinke it a grate deale better to dye like a man, then to be hanged like a Dogg ; if that his Fate would but give him the liberty of picking as well as he had taken the liberty of stealeing ; of which unsoulder-like quallety he was fowly guilty. But let Whalys condition be never so desperate, and that he was resolved to manage an opposition against his Assalent according to his condition, yet those in the Howse with him stooode upon other terms, being two thirds (and the wholl exseeded not 40) prest into the servis, much against their will ; and had a grater antipethy against Whaly then they had any cause for to feare his fate, if he, and they too, had bin taken. As for that objection, that Farrill was not, at this time, fully cured of those Wounds he received in the salley at Towne, which in this action proved detrimentall both to his strength and curage : Why then (if it was so) did he accept of this imploy (he haveing the liberty of refusing) since



none could be better acquainted with his owne condition (eather for strength or curage) better then himselfe? Certainly in this particular, Farrills foolish ostentation was not excuseable, nor Sir William without blame, to complye with his ambition, as he had no other parts to prove himselfe a soulder, then a haire brained ressolution to put himselfe forward in those affaires he had no more acquaintance with then what he had heard people talke off: For the failure of this enterprise (which must wholly be refered to the breach he made upon their sedulous determinations) which was (as is intimated before, to croude into the Howse with the Centrey) not onely injurious to their owne party by letting slip so faire an occasion, to weaken the power of the enemy, by removeing Whaly out of the way, who was esteemed the most considerablest parson on that side; but it was and did prove of bad consequence to the adjacent parts, where he kep gard: For whereas before he did onely take ame where he might do mischeife, he now did mischeife without takeing ame: before this unhapie conflict, he did levie at this, or that particular onely, but now he shott at Rovers, let the same lite where it would he mattered not.

Capt: Grantham had, now, bin som time in Yorke River. A man unto whom Verginia is very much beholden for his neate contrivance, in bringing Ingram (and som others) over to harken to reason. With Ingram he had som small acquaintance, for it was in his ship that he came to Verginia; and so resolved to try if he might not doe that by words, which others could not accomplish with swords. Now although he knew that Ingram was the point, where all the lines of his contrivance were for to center, yet he could not tell, very well, how to obtaine this point. For although he did know that Ingram, in his private condition, was accostable enough; yet since the Tit Mouse (by one of Fortunes figaryes) was becom an Elliphant, he did not know but that his pride, might be as immence as his power: since the Peacock (though bred upon a Dung-hill) is no less proud of his fine fethers then the princely Eagle is of his noble curage. What Arguments Grantham made use of, to ring the sword out of Ingrams hand, to me is not visible, more then what he tould me of; which I thinke was not Mercuri all enough, against an ordnary Sophester. But to speake the truth it may be imagined that Grantham (at this time) could not bring more reasons to convince Ingram, then Ingram had in his owne head to convince himselfe; and so did onely awate some favourable overtures (and such as Grantham might, it is possible, now make) to bring him over to the tother side. Neather could he appre-

Ingram reduced by Grantham.

hend more reason in Granthams Arguments, then in his owne affaires, which now provoked him to dismount from the back of that Horss which he wanted skill and strength to manidge; especially there being som of his owne party, wateing an opportunity to toss him out of the saddle, of his new mounted honours; and of whose designes he wanted not som intilligence, in the countinances of his Merinidons; who began for to looke a skew upon this, their Milk-sopp Generall; who they judged fitter to dance upon a Rope, or in som of his wenchies lapps, then to caper, eather to Bellonies Bagpipe, or Marsses whistle.

But though Ingram was won upon, to turn hopist, in this thing (thanks to the necessitye, which made it an act of compulsion, not a free will offering) yet was the worke but halfe don, untill the soulders were wrought upon to follow his example. And though he himselfe, or any body ells, might command them to take up their Arms, when any mischeife was to be don: yet it was a question whether he, or any in the countrye, could command them to lay downe their Arms, for to efect or do any good. In such a case as this, where Authority wants power, descetion must be made use of, as a vertue surmounting a brutish force. Grantham, though he had bin but a while in the countrey, and had seene but litle, as to mater of Action, yet he had heard a grate deale; and so much that the name of Authority had but litle power to ring the sword out of these mad fellows hands, as he did perceve. And that there was more hopes to efect that by smoothe words, which was never likely to be accomplished by rough deeds: therefore he resolved to accoste them, as the Devill courted Eve, though to a better purpose, with never to be performed promises: counting it no sin to Ludificate those for their good, that had bin deceived by others to their hurt. He knew that men were to be treated as such, and children according to their childish dispossitions: And although it was not with both these he was now to deale, yet he was to observe the severall tempers of those he was to worke upon.

What number of soulders was, at this time, in  
 Grantham at West Point. Garrison at West Point, I am not certaine: It is saide about 250, sumed up in freemen, sarvants and slaves; these three ingredience being the composition of Bacons Army, ever since that the Governour left Towne. These was informed (to prepare the way) two or three days before that Grantham came to them, that there was a treaty on foote betwene there Generall, and the Governour; and that Grantiam did manely promote the same, as he was a parson that favoured the cause, that they were contending for.

When that Grantham arived, amongst these fine fellowes, he

was received with more then an ordinary respect ; which he having repade, with a suteable deportment, he acquaints them with his commission, which was to tell them, that there was a peace concluded betwene the Governour and their Generall ; an since himself had (in some measure) used his indeviours, to bring the same to pass, hee begged of the Governour, that he might have the honor to com and acquaint them with the terms ; which he saide was such, that they had all cause to rejoyce at, then any ways to thinke hardly of the same ; therè being a compleate satisfaction to be given (by the Articles of agreement) according to every ones particuler intrèss ; which he sumed up under these heads. And first, those that were now in Arms (and free men) under the Generall, were still to be retained in Arms, if they so pleased, against the Indians. Secondly, and for those who had a desire for to return hom, to their owne abodes, care was taken for to have them satisfide, for the time they had bin out, according to the allowance made the last Assembly. And lastly, those that were sarvants in Arms, and behaved themselves well, in their imployment, should emediately receive discharges from their Indentures, signed by the Governour or Sequetary of State ; and their Masters to receive, from the publick, a vulluable satisfaction, for every sarvant, so set free (marke the words) proportionably to the time that they have to sarve.

Upon what terms West Point was surrendered.

Upon these terms, the soulders forsake West Point, and goe with Grantham to kiss the Governours hands (still at Tindells point) and to receive the benefitt of the Articles, mentioned by Grantham ; where when they came (which was by water, themselves in one vessill, and their arms in another ; and so contrived by Grantham, as he tould me himselfe, upon good reason) the sarvants and slaves was sent hom to their Masters, there to stay till the Governour had leasure to signe their discharges ; or to say better, till they were free according to the custom of the countrey, the rest was made prisoners, or entertained by the Governour, as hee found them inclined.

Of all the obstickles that hath, hitherto, lane in the Governours way, there is not one (which hath falne within the verge of my intilligence) that hath bin removed by the sword ; excepting what was performed under the conduct of Beverly : How this undertaken by Grantham, was effected, you have heard ; though badly (as the rest) by me sumed up. The next, that is taken notis of, is that at Greene Spring (before hinted) under the command of one Capt : Drew, formerly a miller (by profession)

Greene Spring secured for William.

though now Dignified with the title of a Capt: and made Governour of this place by Bacon, as he was a parson formerly beholden unto Sir William; and soe, by way of requiteall, most likely to keepe him out of his owne Howse. This Whisker of Whorly-Giggs, perceving (now) that there was more water coming downe upon his Mill, then the Dam would houlde, thought best in time, to fortifye the same, least all should be borne downe before he had taken his toule. Which haveing effected (making it the strongest place in the country what with grate and small Gunns) he stands upon his gard, and refuseth to surrender, but upon his owne terms: which being granted, he secures the place till such time as Sir William should, in parson, com and take possession of the same: And was not this pritley, honestly, don, of a Miller.

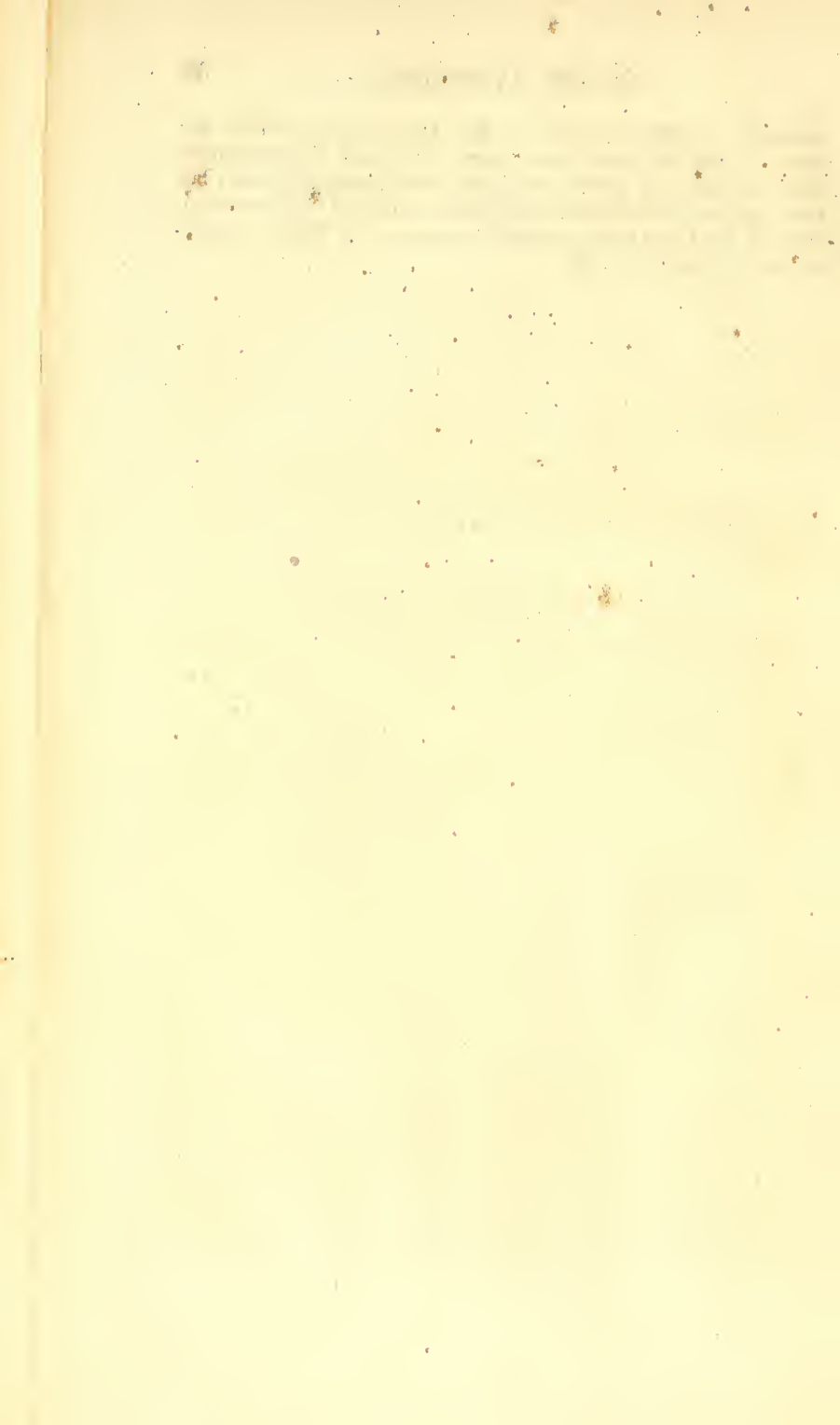
The gratest difficulty, now to be performed, was to remove Drummond and Larance out of the way. These two men was excepted out of the Governours pardon, by his Proclamation of Iune last, and severall papers since, and for to dye without marcy, whenever taken: as they were the cheife Incendiarys, and promoters to, and for Bacons Designes; and by whose councells all transactions were, for the grater part, managed all along on that side.

Drummond was formerly Governour of Carolina, and allways esteemed a Parson of such induments, where wisdom and honesty are contending for superiority; which rendred him to be one of that sort of people, whose dementions are not to be taken, by the line of an ordnary capassety. Larance was late one of the Assembly, and Burgis for Towne, in which he was a liver. He was a Parson not meanely aquainted with such learning (besides his natureall parts) that enables a man for the management of more then ordnary imployments which he subjected to an eclips, as well in the transactions of the present affaires, as in the darke imbraces of a Blackamoore, his slave: And that in so fond a maner, as though Venus was cheify to be worshiped in the Image of a Negro; or that Buty consisted all together in the Antiphety of Complexions: to the noe meane scandle, and affrunt, of all the vottrisses in or about towne.

When that West Point was surrendered, and  
 Drummond and  
 Coll. Larance  
 at the Brick-  
 howse, at New-  
 Kent. Greene Spring secured, for the Governour, these  
 two Gen: was at the Brick-howse, in New-Kent:  
 a place situate allmost oppositt to West Point, on  
 the South side of Yorke River, and not 2 miles  
 removed from the saide point, with som soulders under their  
 command; for to keepe the Governours Men from landing on

that side; he haveing a ship, at that time, at Ancor nere the place. They had made som attemps to have hindred Granthams designes (of which they had gained som intilligence) but their indeviours not fadging, they sent downe to Coll. Bacons to fetch of the Gard there, under the command of Whaley, to re-inforce their own strength.

CÆTERA DESUNT.















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